

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 OES-03 FEA-01 DODE-00

CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

TRSE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 /093 W
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R 120840Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8622

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION IAEA GENEVA

USMISSION GENEVA

AEC GERMANTOWN

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 3241

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, TECH, IAEA, JA

SUBJECT: GOJ NPT RATIFICATION PLANS

REF: A. TOKYO 2848; B. TOKYO 3042

SUMMARY: GOJ CONTINUES VIGOROUS EFFORTS TO PERSUADE OPPONENTS
OF NPT RATIFICATION THAT JAPAN'S SECURITY WILL NOT BE
JEOPARDIZED BY RATIFICATION AND THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT
EARLY MOVES TOWARD GENERAL DISARMAMENT. NOTING THAT DESPITE
PROGRESS MADE IN RECENT DAYS WITH RECALCITRANT LDP OFFICIALS
BATTLE IS STILL UPHILL, FONOFF OFFICIAL SAID GOJ PLANS TO
CONTINUE DRIVE TO RATIFY THIS DIET SESSION EVEN, IF NECESSARY,
AFTER REVIEW CONFERENCE CONVENES. FONOFF HAS DECIDED AGAINST
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SEEKING USG STATEMENT OR REAFFIRMATION OF SECURITY TIES AT THIS

JUNCTURE AND IS THINKING INSTEAD OF A MAJOR INITIATIVE AT REVIEW CONFERENCE TO OBTAIN SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES. ACTION: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON DEPARTMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SUCH A GOJ EFFORT AT REVIEW CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF DISARMAMENT DIRECTOR KAZUHARA BRIEFED EMBOFF MARCH 11 ON STATUS OF FONOFF, BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE, PLANS FOR PUSHING NPT RATIFICATION. PROCEDURALLY, NEXT AND MAJOR HURDLE IS, AS DESCRIBED IN REF B., TO DEVELOP FAVORABLE CONSENSUS IN LDP RESEARCH COUNCILS IN MARCH 14 MEETING (CHAIRER BY KITAZAWA) ON THREE MAJOR AREAS OF CONCERN: A) GENERAL DISARMAMENT; B) SECURITY TO NNWS (FOREMOST JAPAN'S); AND C) SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT. KAZUHARA RATED CHANCES ABOUT ONE IN THREE THAT THIS HURDLE COULD BE OVERCOME. SUBSEQUENT HURDLE IS AGREEMENT OF SENIOR PARTY LEADERS (NAKASONE, SHIINA, NADAO) FROM WHOM KAZUHARA SAID FONOFF IS "FAIRLY CONFIDENT" APPROVAL WOULD BE FORTHCOMING TO PROCEED WITH TABLING NPT RATIFICATION BILL IN DIET. THIRD HURDLE IS CABINET WHERE NO SERIOUS PROBLEM IS ANTICIPATED AND FINAL STEP IS DIET, WHICH, ALL GOING OPTIMALLY WELL, GOJ HOPES TO ACCOMPLISH BY EARLY APRIL. ALTHOUGH NPT ISSUE IS ACTIVELY BEING DISCUSSED BY ALL POLITICAL PARTIES NOW, KAZUHARA COMMENTED THAT JCP AND JSP TACTICS IN DIET SESSION ARE STILL HARD TO PREDICT. THEIR OPPOSITION COULD BE PRO FORMA THEY MIGHT ATTEMPT A MAJOR FIGHT.

2. SUBSTANTIVELY, SAFEGUARDS ISSUE HAS LARGELY BEEN PUT ASIDE AND FONOFF IS NOW CONCENTRATING ON DEALING WITH GENERAL DISARMAMENT AND NNWS SECURITY ISSUES WHICH WILL BE MAJOR TOPICS AT MARCH 14 MEETING. ON DISARMAMENT, FONOFF IS EMPLOYING RATIONALE THAT TO WAIT UNTIL GENERAL DISARMAMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED MEANS NEVER TO RATIFY NPT. REALISTICALLY, JAPAN SHOULD RATIFY AND PRESS FOR DISARMAMENT IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL FORA POSSIBLE, INCLUDING ESPECIALLY THE MAY REVIEW CONFERENCE. THIS ARGUMENT IS APPARENTLY HAVING SOME EFFECT. FOCUS AMONG OPPONENTS TO RATIFICATION IS MOVING TO SECURITY FOR NNWS, PARTICULARLY OF COURSE JAPAN'S LONG TERM SECURITY. IN DISCUSSION WITH OPPONENTS, GOJ POSITION IS THAT JAPAN'S SECURITY IS GUARANTEED THROUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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US-JAPAN MST TO FULL SATISFACTION OF GOJ. GOJ WILL ATTEMPT TO SHIFT EMPHASIS TO EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR ALL NNWS AND NOT JUST JAPAN. FONOFF IS CURRENTLY CONSIDERING WHICH DIPLOMATIC MEANS WOULD BEST FURTHER THIS GOAL AND TENTATIVELY IS CONTEMPLATING A MAJOR EFFORT AT THE MAY REVIEW CONFERENCE, EITHER UNDER AGENDA ITEM ON STRENGTHENING NPT REGIME GENERALLY OR UNDER ITEM ON UN RES 255. (FONOFF IS WELL AWARE OF PITFALLS OF RES 255

BECAUSE OF PRC'S POSITION IN SECURITY COUNCIL.) KAZUHARA STRESSED THAT GOJ EFFORTS WILL IN NO WAY IMPLY ANY QUESTIONING OF US-JAPAN MST FOR LONG TERM AND GOJ WILL EXERT NECESSARY EFFORTS TO AVOID SUCH AN INFERENCE BEING DRAWN BY OTHERS.

3. KAZUHARA SAID GOJ HAS ALSO DECIDED AGAINST SEEKING USG STATEMENT ON SECURITY RELATIONS OR REAFFIRMATION AT THIS TIME, AS HAS BEEN PROPOSED BY SOME LDP CONSERVATIVES (REF A). KAZUHARA NOTED THAT, POLITICAL HAZARDS ASIDE, GOJ'S OPTIMUM TIMETABLE CAN EASILY SLIP PAST MAY 5 REVIEW CONFERENCE BUT, HE EXPLAINED THAT MAJOR GOJ INITIATIVE AT REVIEW CONFERENCE COULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT EFFECT ON RATIFICATION DURING THIS DIET SESSION WHETHER ACCOMPLISHED BEFORE MAY 5 OR NOT. EMBOFF COMMENTED THAT SHOULD JAPAN ATTEND REVIEW CONFERENCE AS RECENT RATIFIER OF NPT, HER VOICE WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY STRENGTHENED. KAZUHARA ACKNOWLEDGED THIS BUT SAID GOJ'S PRIMARY GOAL IS RATIFICATION ITSELF, HOPEFULLY BEFORE MAY 5, BUT GOJ DOES NOT WISH CURRENT MOMENTUM TO BE LOST EVEN IF RATIFICATION COULD ONLY COME LATE IN THE SESSION.

4. COMMENT: IF DEPARTMENT HAS ANY SUGGESTIONS OR COMMENTS ABOUT APPROPRIATENESS OR EFFECTIVENESS OF MAJOR EFFORT BY JAPAN AT MAY REVIEW CONFERENCE TO ADVOCATE STRENGTHENING SECURITY OF NNWS EITHER UNDER AGENDA ITEMS ON STRENGTHENING NPT OR RES 255, WE THINK IT WOULD BE WISE TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION INFORMALLY WITH JAPANESE SOMETIME SOON, PRESUMABLY IN WASHINGTON. FOR OUR OWN BACKGROUND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH OFFICIALS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON THESE POINTS.
HODGSON

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